1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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and due allowance, of the hardships attendant on savage life. Therefore they are not only voluntarily, but cheerfully submitted to; and as women are not obliged to live with their husbands any longer than suits their pleasure or convenience, it cannot be supposed that they would submit to be loaded with unjust or unequal burdens.

Marriages among the Indians are not, as with us, contracted for life; it is understood on both sides that the parties are not to live together any longer than they shall be pleased with each other. The husband may put away his wife whenever he pleases, and the woman may in like manner abandon her husband. Therefore the connexion is not attended with any vows, promises or ceremonies of any kind. An Indian takes a wife as it were on trial, determined, however, in his own mind not to forsake her if she behaves well, and particularly if he has children by her. The woman, sensible of this, does on her part every thing in her power to please her husband, particularly if he is a good hunter or trapper, capable of maintaining her by his skill and industry, and protecting her by his strength and courage.

When a marriage takes place, the duties and labours incumbent on each party are well known to both. It is understood that the husband is to build a house for them to dwell in, to find the necessary implements of husbandry, as axes, hoes, &c. to provide a canoe, and also dishes, bowls, and other necessary vessels for house-keeping. The woman generally has a kettle or two, and some other articles of kitchen furniture, which she brings with her. The husband, as master of the family, considers himself bound to support it by his bodily exertions, as hunting, trapping, &c.; the woman, as his *help-mate*, takes upon herself the labours of the field, and is far from considering them as more important than those to which her husband is subjected, being well satisfied that with his gun and traps he can maintain a family in any place where game is to be found: nor do they think it any hardship imposed upon them; for they themselves say, that

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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bridegroom carried out negotiations with the father of the bride.[57] My informants said that either parent of the prospective bridegroom could make wedding arrangements (N.D., O.A., M.B.). The prospective bridegroom, or the go-between seems to have taken some produce of the hunt, usually a choice cut of deer or bear, to the dwelling of the prospective bride and presented it to the girl's mother. If the match was favored, the girl's mother reciprocated with a gift of beans or corn. Both go-betweens, whether relatives or friends, emphasized in their negotiations that their respective children, or clients, had themselves procured the gifts. If, after this exchange, the couple signified that the gifts were acceptable, the bargain was considered concluded, although subsequent exchanges of food and clothing were made. The period of time between the betrothal and the marriage was fairly lengthy in the seventeenth century: "If she be a young virgin, he must wait six weeks more before he can sleep with her...all this time she sits with a blanket over her head, without wishing to look at any one, or any one being permitted to look at her...."[58] Heckewelder added:

> The friendship between the two families daily increasing, they do their domestic and field work jointly, and when the young people have agreed to live together, the parents supply them with necessaries, such as a kettle, dishes or bowls, and also what is required for the kitchen, and with axes, hoes, etc. to work in the field.[59]

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De Rasieres rather cryptically said that in the marriage ceremony they "...eat together with friends, and sing and dance together...."[60] An even more informal ceremony was mentioned in this and subsequent centuries, in which a man simply asked a woman if she wanted to live with him. If she assented, they lived together and were considered to be married.[61] Trowbridge described the marriage ceremony of the nineteenth century by saying:

> The female was conducted by her relatives to the lodge of her intended husband and there delivered to him. The day succeeding was taken up by the relatives of the bride in carrying to those of the groom large presents of corn, squashes, etc., together with pouches and other ornaments, the products of female labor, and they also gave her a kettle for cooking. This was the conclusion of the ceremony.[62]

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Other data from this century add that the couple, dressed in their finest and most elaborate clothing, appeared before a shaman, who made an offering of tobacco to the supernatural powers and sacrificed a beaver skin. He then addressed the bridal couple telling them to be good and not to mistreat each other. This was followed by a feast and dance sponsored by the friends and relatives of the bridal pair.[63] He might

[57] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 181-82; De Smet, 1859, p. 238; Trowbridge MS.
[58] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107.
[59] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 181.
[60] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107.
[61] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; J.T., O.A.
[62] Trowbridge MS.
[63] De Smet, 1850, p. 239; Adams, 1905, pp. 17-19; M.B.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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also speak to the couple on subsequent occasions, perhaps on the birth of a child (M.B.).

The place of residence of a newly married couple is something of a puzzle. In the nineteenth century it was temporarily patrilocal or matrilocal (bilocal), with friends, or by themselves (neolocal).[64] This was probably not true in early historic times; the evidence favors matrilocality. All sources are agreed that the Delawares were polygynous.[65] Polygyny seems to have been more frequent in the early days. "An *Indian* may have two wives or more if he please, but it is not much in use as it was since the English came amongst them they being ready in some measure to imitate the *English* in things both good & bad."[66] Van der Donck said that "ordinarily they have but one wife, sometimes two or three, but this is generally among the chiefs."[67] The sororate was sometimes practiced, and informants added that the levirate was known.[68] Trowbridge said that "many instances have been known where a man having married a widow also married her daughter, and this has sometimes been at the suggestion of the mother herself."[69]

Divorce.— Divorce was easy among the Delawares; either member of a marriage partnership could break the union.[70] Reasons for divorce were sterility, adultery, and any other type of incompatibility.[71] Divorce was not frequent when there were children, and in this event small children remained with the mother.[72] Heckewelder quoted a Delaware on marriage and divorce, and the account is both enlightening and entertaining:

> The Indians had not only a much easier way of getting a wife than the whites, but were also more certain of getting a good one; "For" (said he in his broken English), "White man court, — court, — may be one whole year! O may be two year before he marry! — well! — may be then got very good wife — but may be not! — may be very cross! — Well now, suppose cross! scold so soon as get awake in morning! scold all day! scold until sleep! — all one; he must keep him! White people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be he ever so cross! ho! no! Squaw know too well what Indian do if he cross! — throw him away and take another! Squaw love to eat meat! no husband! no meat! Squaw do every thing to please husband! he do the same to please Squaw! live happy!"[73]

Marital fidelity on the part of men does not seem to have been a major social goal, particularly during a woman's pregnancy, menstruation, and lactation, when marital relations were forbidden.[74] During this period many husbands apparently had concubines. There is one report of the social sanction of a woman's divorce from an adulterous husband. In this isolated case the husband was accused before the chief; he was

[64] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 78; O.A., N.D.
[65] Holm, 1834, p. 128; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58; Trowbridge MS., O.A., M.B., N.D.
[66] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[67] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302.
[68] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; O.A., M.B.
[69] Trowbridge MS.
[70] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; Holm, 1834, p. 128; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 171-72; Trowbridge MS.
[71] Denton, 1845, p. 9; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 85; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 154; Trowbridge MS.
[72] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108; Trowbridge MS; O.A.
[73] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 161.
[74] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 80.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER X.

Concerning the Marriage of the American People and the Treatment [Used] by the Savage Females Against Birth Pangs.

These Indians are a bestial people and have their intercourse together with father, mother, brother and sister like irrational brutes, no one knowing rightly who is the father of the child;[1] but their sachem or chief he must take a wife to himself, not because he intends to conceive children with her alone, but because his government and household exists as under a family,[2] about which we shall obtain further [details] hereafter. This his wife, she must manage his entire household like a matron who always, in the absence of the sachem, must guard his property, which becomes her possession after his death.

When she has thus been wooed by him, the bride must bedeck [herself] for a year and a day,[3] although they do not know what a year means, yet

[1] Lindeström's religious zeal led him astray; besides he did not understand the family life of the Indians. Some early writers state that Indians of this district had but one wife, except the chiefs, who had many. Their ideas of morality were of course different from those of the white settlers. De Vries tells us that an Indian would lend his wife to a friend, and that jealousy did not exist among them.

[2] *Hans undherhafwande Regiment och Hwshåldningh beståår lijka som undher een familia.* In other words, according to Lindeström, the government is patriarchal, the chief being like the father of a household, hence it is necessary to have a mother of the household. Cf. in this connection a summary on "The Chief of the Indian Clan," by Rudolf Elander (Gothenburg, 1909).

[3] "A year and a day," see above, *Dedication*, note 23.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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585 a period of about that length is designated, during which she must go the whole time in her bridal attire, completely covered with their money, strung into the form of all kinds of figures, with which the ears, the arms and the body, down to the knees, are ornamented; with oiled hair, and face painted with all kinds of colors like a fearful scare-crow face.[4] Then she is decorated in the very best manner according to their views. Now when this said period is over then there is an end to their bridal ceremony.

824 825 When the savage females bear their children, they tie around their waists a snake skin of the most poisonous kind of snakes, which are found in New Sweden and are called rattlesnakes, which has such an effect that they do not know of the least pain in their child birth, and are as healthy in an hour, as if they had never been through it.[5]

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[4] *Skrädbukeansichte (Skrädpukansigte)*, mask, scarecrow. 'The Indians carry small bags of paint with them, keeping the colors separate as red, blue, green, brown, white, black, yellow. They esteem brilliant colors most, which shine like pure metal.' Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 161–2, 163–4; cf. also, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, II, 269, De Vries, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, III, 106.

[5] It is the opinion of some medical men that the reports about the easy childbirth of primitive women are more or less fictitious; but that is probably not the case. Dr. Mjöberg, a Swedish explorer, relates that he saw women who bore children on the march and continued their journey without interruption.

9t Kinietz E-4,5 (1938) 1946 NM7 Delaware NM7

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
s = some, sometimes, or several
† or* = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindestrom	Zeisberger	Mechtenbider	Johnson	Pipe	Chippe	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
575												958
585												816
594												858
151												252
848												858
848												858
225												858
156												858
252												858
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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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585 The reports of lack of ceremony attending a marriage are quite evidently based on a misunderstanding of what constitutes a ceremony (134). Considered in its meaning of any form, rittal, or custom established for the observance of joining in marriage, there was a ceremony for even the type of marriage described by Chipps. The Delaware ceremony, however, was not a complicated one to judge from the one described by Pipe for former times and appears to have been simplified even further at that time, 1824. The form of marriage of the Delaware then may safely be said to have undergone a lessening of formality by the third period even though most of the former practices were still remembered in the fourth. One of the customs connected with marriage that was not remembered in the fourth period, the exchange of presents, aids in establishing the time of the change in marriage forms (137). Whereas the giving of presents to the bride or the family of the bride (135, 136) was reported in all four periods, the exchange of presents was recorded as a custom in the second period, but one no longer practiced, according to Pipe, in the third period, and completely forgotten in the fourth.

595 Polygyny was not common in any period and was principally confined to chiefs and rich men. There is no consensus among either the sources or the informants as to whether any superiority was observed among the multiple wives or on what quality such a superiority might have been based (141-44). Polyandry was not mentioned in the first two periods, but was emphatically denied in the last two (145). Information on the operation of the levirate is too scanty to warrant any conclusions, but the sororate attracted attention in all but the first period (146-48). Polygynous sororate was reported by all three sources of the third period but denied by all the informants except W. L. His information applied to only one family. Successive sororate was reported in each of the last three periods and the only denial was that of the Canadian Chipps. There may have been a change in the feeling toward polygynous sororate in the last period, but as polygyny was not common in any period and opportunities for polygynous sororal marriages were fewer in the scattered

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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121. Cradle put in hammock 854

W. L. said that a cradleboard was formerly used but that 352
his children were all raised in a cradle hammock, consisting of a cloth or piece of blanket, two ropes and two sticks. The ropes were suspended parallel, the edges of the blanket fastened to or around the ropes, and the sticks placed at the ends of the blanket to keep the ropes apart.

123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate children 848 [836]

W. T.—No difference because Delaware never had latter. Young folks did not play around—old folks watched them too close.

Marriage and Its Incidents

131. Courtship

Captain Chipps—Courtships are brief. If a man sees a 584
woman whom he likes, he gives her presents, and persuades her [936]
to sleep with him. Should they be mutually pleased, they afterwards live together as man and wife. The consent of parents on the subject is seldom asked—although it is considered proper [595]
to consult parents on the subject. If a marriage is consummated as above, and the parents are displeased, they use their exertions to separate the young couple—they fail, however, for the newmarried couple elope, when the alarm is sounded. There is no ceremony of marriage but the above.

E. R.—Both girls and boys were told to accept the first pro- 584
posal they received. The old people kept telling them this and 577
to show what might happen to them if they did not do this they 539
told the following story. Once there was a girl who was very pretty, one boy after another wanted to marry her but she did not care much for any of them and would not listen to her old folks. Then one day when she was out in the woods she met a very handsome young stranger. She fell for him, and when he said he wanted to take her home with him, she agreed. He took her into a nearby hollow where he had a very nice home. He told his mother he had brought home a wife and she was very

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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134. Any ceremony of marriage 585

LINDESTRÖM says that only chiefs had anything considered a marriage or any ceremony of marriage, the common people mating promiscuously.

JOHN JOHNSTON—The young couple have nothing to say to each other till the bargain is made by the parents then the young man gives a present of goods to the parents of the young woman and they are considered married. [584]

CAPTAIN PIPE—There is no ceremony of courtship and marriage in these degenerate days. Anciently, when the father ascertained that his son desired to marry, if he was of proper age, he sought for him a suitable partner in the person of some female of his acquaintance, and carried to her father a bundle of presents, making known to him at the same time the object of his visit. If the father of the female accepted the present, it was a signal of his consent to the union and the visitor returned to declare the result of his visit to his son. On the following night the female was conducted by her relatives to the lodge of her intended husband and there delivered to him. The day succeeding was taken up by the relatives of the bride in carrying to those of the groom large presents of corn, squashes, etc., together with pouches and other ornaments, the produce of female labour, and they also gave her a kettle for cooking. This was the conclusion of the ceremony, and the new married couple then set themselves at work to provide for their future subsistence. Instances of refusal to comply with the wishes of the parents have seldom been known. 584 585

J. W.—(See last paragraph of his autobiography under discussion of element 103, *ante*, p. 104.)

139-144. Polygamy

JOHN JOHNSTON—They generally have but one [wife] for they consider it wrong yet they some times have more. The one that can exercise the most bodily strength is considered superior. They (form one family) when the women can agree but if they cannot agree they live separate. 592 595

CAPTAIN PIPE—Formerly each man had but one wife, but now they are permitted to marry as many as they can maintain,

[P.34, B]

581 Divorce and family instability were common; many children were raised by
586 mother surrogates. "Owing to instability of the family relationship, children are often neglected."[9] The father was absent,
581 hunting, fishing, fighting, trading, or
855 attending treaties during most of the year; what discipline there was fell to the hand of the mother, who was considered to
796 "own" the children.[10] During one of the annual calendar of ceremonies, young
861 children were chased by a man dressed in a bear-skin, who threatened to punish them for misdeeds (of which the parents kept him informed from year to year) by carrying them away in a bag full of snakes.[11]
[776] This "Mask Spirit" was considered to be the "Guardian of the Game" and also promoted the fertility of the corn; in other words, was the symbol of the food pro-
955 vider.[12] The boys were able to escape from the mother's supervision as soon as they were able to get about to play at hunting and fighting; but the girls were kept around
754 the house to help the mother at work.[13] When a child died, an old woman was often accused of having bewitched it.[14]

155 It would seem that the mother-figure
593 remained a symbol of possible delights which could not be secured on demand, a symbol of diffused frustration, of withheld benefits and hidden hostility, to the Delaware, and the source of his generalized, if inhibited, aggressiveness; and that the father-figure stood on the horizon, so to speak, as a powerful, friendly being, but one too remote and too aloof to be depended upon.

Emotional Attachments in Maturity

584 The ideal in marriage was for a young man to fall in love with a girl. His family would present his suit; she would accept
● [585] him by accepting the presents he sent, and come to live with him; and they would live happily and faithfully ever after. The

9. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 21.
10. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 14.
11. Harrington, 1938, pp. 52-53, 113.
12. Ibid.; Harrington, 1921.
13. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 16.
14. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 128.